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Ex Parte Repetition
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Shanghai Incident
15

**THE SHANGHAI INCIDENT
AND
THE IMPERIAL JAPANESE NAVY.**

**NAVY DEPARTMENT,
TOKYO.**

February 25, 1932

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THE SHANGHAI INCIDENT AND THE IMPERIAL JAPANESE NAVY.

In these days of propagandas and counter-propagandas, the truths of any affair are usually obscured from the view of the public by a thick curtain of uncertainty or even of falsehood, so that we ought not to be too hasty in giving our judgement to any affair the nature and influence of which is international. What is required of us in this connection are a cool head, patience and the correct recognition of all the aspects in relation to the affair in question. We are not surprised at all to know that there are a good many wild rumours and extreme misunderstandings prevalent in various quarters of the world in connection with the present affairs in Shanghai, but we cannot remain silent in view of their dangerous influence on the general peace of the world which is our gravest concern. International misunderstandings are as fearful as a war itself for they are liable to do as much harm as a war does. We therefore consider it our sacred duty to aid the public, laying before them rigid and bare facts, to get at the truths of the chief incidents which have occurred since last January.

**The relation of Japan and China before
the outbreak of the Shanghai incident.**

In order to prepare the public for what we are going to explain in this pamphlet, we deem it necessary to refer you to the history of the anti-Japanese movement in China, the origin of which may be traced almost a quarter of a century back. We do not, of course, intend to bother you by narrating all its details or pointing out to you every one of the innumerable acts of abuse, brutality, illegality or outrage that have been committed during this period at one time or other, by the Chinese towards us Japanese. Although we had suffered so much from all this, we constantly controlled ourselves and dealt with each individual case with such amicability and patience as the personal or national honour scarcely justified, simply because we did not want to disturb the otherwise peaceful relationship between the two nations, and consequently the international peace.

Our good intention was neither appreciated nor responded. The Chinese, on the contrary, became used to such peaceful attitude of ours and they began to think that we had been

obliged to assume this kind of attitude from inability and weakness, and their abusive conducts toward us increased. In recent years, any conflict between our two peoples in some remote part of the Orient was enough to call out merciless and wholesale anti-Japanese movement all over China. It will not be too much to say that our people who reside in places along the Great Yangtze have been persecuted by the Chinese for years like the sons of the Israelites in ancient Egypt.

Their situation became more than worse since September last. Even the innocent Japanese children were jeered and threatened on their way to and from school, and we were obliged to escort them by police and sailors. Indeed the righteous resentment of the Japanese residents was boiling, and you can well imagine that their nerves were strained to the breaking point when, on January 18th an atrocious outrage was committed on Japanese priests.

By the way, you can have a glimpse of our attitude toward the peaceful Chinese in Japan, if you visit the Chinese quarters in Yokohama, where they are peacefully trading and enjoying life, or the Military College in Tokyo, where some Chinese cadets are kindly educated mingled among their Japanese comrades.

II

The buddhists case.

On January 18, some Japanese buddhist priests on their pious winter service were outrageously attacked on the street of Shanghai by a multitude of Chinese workmen belonging to the Anti-Japanese Association. Three priests were seriously wounded, one of whom died a few days afterwards.

On the 20th, Mr. Murai, Japanese Consul-General lodged a strong protest with General Wu Tehchen, Mayor of Shanghai, and presented him the following demand:

- (1) Formal apology by the Mayor,
- (2) Arrest and punishment of the offenders,
- (3) Payment of the expenses for medical treatment of the wounded and a solatium to the family of the deceased,
- (4) Instant disbandment of all anti-Japanese organizations such as the Anti-Japanese Association.

At 3-15 p.m. January 28th, the Mayor, after having delayed his answer considerably, called on the Consul-General to answer formally that he would accept all the conditions of the Japanese demand and moreover to pledge that he would hold himself responsible for the suppression of the anti-

Japanese organizations and the protection of the lives and property of the Japanese nationals in and around Shanghai. This was quite a satisfactory solution of the buddhists affair and we were all looking forward to the improvement of the general situation in Shanghai.

III

The Japanese Landing Party clashes with the 19th Route Army.

Your close attention must now be directed to the very important fact that the clash of the Japanese and the Chinese forces, not many hours after the formal acceptance of all our demands by the Mayor, is, strictly speaking, not a continuation or the outcome of the buddhists case. In order, however, to shield the aggressive act commenced by their army, both the Mayor and his government deliberately propagandized to the world that these two incidents were not separate affairs but a continuous one. Here you see an apt instance showing what notorious propagandists are the Chinese.

The formal acceptance of the Japanese demand by the Mayor had scarcely been known in the city before a considerable mass of unsatisfied students, workmen and volunteer

soliders rushed to the City Hall to exact the explanation of the Mayor. This made the atmosphere in Shanghai dangerously strained.

What added to the danger of the situation was the presence in the neighbourhood of Hongkew the powerful 19th Route Army under Genral Tsaitingkai. Since the Buddhist Priests incident, they have been constructing defensive works along the Woosung—Shanghai railway line in Chapei and at other places, and they had been declaring themselves ready to challenge the Japanese Landing Party at any time. This all powerful and boastful army had of course no ears to listen to the remonstrances of the Mayor. While the infuriated mob were clamouring at the gates of the town hall, General Tsai was concentrating a large force and preparing offensive positions near the Japanese residential quarters in Chapei and smuggled into the quarter hundreds of mufti-soldiers.

This offensive attitude taken by the 19th Route Army served to strain the already ominous atmosphere. Not only this, toward the evening the Chinese policemen and armed police had all deserted their quarters in Chapei, where the greater part of the Japanese nationals resided, and thus the lives and property of the Japanese became exposed to a real danger.

Alarmed with this threatening situation the Municipal

Council had proclaimed martial law in the International Settlement at four o'clock on February 28, and an hour later the garrison of the powers concerned repaired to their respective defence area, according to the plan of combined defense agreed to between the Municipal Council and the commanders of the garrisons on the previous day.

However, in view of the proximity of the Chinese forces to our defence area and desirous of avoiding as far as possible even an accidental undersirable clash with them, Rear Admiral K. Shiozawa, commanding our 1st Foreign Service Squadron in the Yangtze River, thought it prudent that, before ordering the Landing Party to march out to the defence-line, defined by the Combined Defence Plan, to require the 19th Route Army to withdraw their forces that had concentrated in the Chapei district. This he did in a statement and referred the same to the Mayor of Shanghai.

Scarcely had the first detachment emerged into the street in front of the main gate of their headquarters before they were made the target of the bullets fired by some Chinese mutti-soldiers hidden in the houses opposite the gate. Another detachment which was sent to the region of North Szechun Road were similarly subjected to volleys of fire from the Chinese regular soldiers, as soon as they crossed the road to

the Chapei side, i.e. to the western side.

IV

**It is the 19th Route Army that commenced
the offensive.**

This is the key to the situation that developed into the frontal clash of the Japanese and the Chinese forces, and it demands your closest attention and the clearest understanding.

We had no intention of attacking the Chinese Army, nay we had every wish to avoid a clash. We had carried out every precautionary means that had been possible under the circumstances to minimize the chance of armed conflict. Our Landing Party marched forth, not to attack the Chinese Army, but to take up their allotted line of defence to guard the portion of the International Settlement that had been placed under their protection against any attempt to manace it. One the contrary, the Chinese ununiformed soldiers in the houses, and the regular troops in their deliberately prepared positions, were waiting for our Landing Party with the grim intention to attack us as soon as we made our appearance. Even a private individual has the fullest right of self defence when his or her life were endangered. What then could you expect of

a naval force of an independent and powerful state to do when they were attacked without any justifiable reasons? Of course they must defend themselves by every means in their power. So they did, and such is the plain fact. The first clash was caused by the premeditated attack of the 19th Route Army and their partizan troops, the mufti-soldiers, and the response made by our forces was simply an act of self-defence which was absolutely necessary not only to protect themselves but, what was more important, to carry out their sacred duty of guarding their allotted quarters and protecting the lives and property of the defenceless residents therein.

V

The Nineteenth Route Army is not properly to be called an army of the Chinese Government, but it is to be regarded as the common enemy of humanity.

"What is China?" was a question that was asked by M. Briand at the Arms Limitation Conference at Washington in 1922. Now you are confronted with this question: "What is the 19th Route Army of China?"

This Army, which is properly to be called an army corps,

is nearly 31,000 strong, mostly Cantonese, and consist of three divisions: namely, the 60th, the 61st and the 78th divisions. Its present commander is General Tsai Tingkai who was formerly under the orders of General Chen Mingshu. This army is strongly responsible for the successful overthrowal of the former Nanking Government last October by Sun Fo, Eugen Chen and others of the Cantonese Party. When, however, they found it beyond their power to maintain the government any longer, they gave it over to Chiang Kaishek and retired to Shanghai. Ever since they have been vigorously advocating the severance of diplomatic relations of China with Japan and that solely for the purpose of laying obstacles before Chiang Kaishek's career. It is no wonder, therefore, that the 19th Route Army, or the Cantonese Army, should not be willing to place themselves under the direction and orders of the Nanking Government which is China's central government at present.

The above circumstances will naturally lead you to the conclusion that the present Shanghai incident was caused by the 19th Route Army at the instigation of the Cantonese Party which is extremely anti-Governmental, and the fact is neither more nor less than that. Such a situation is peculiarly Chinese. And such is indeed the Chinese Army which is now challenging the strictly-disciplined Japanese forces in Shanghai,

an international city, to the gravest menace to the peace and order of the International Settlement. In what title ought we to call it? The "common enemy of humanity."

Thus it is not with China herself, but with the unpardonable common enemy of humanity that we are now fighting and it is the inevitable means of self-defence. It is no exaggeration on our part. The fact that fighting is limited within a comparatively narrow region between Woosung and Shanghai will readily convince you of it.

VI

The bombing by the Japanese in Chapei
is simply the means of self-defence.

This is variously criticised, but we believe a short explanation will convince you of the inevitability of resorting to such a measure from the absolute necessity of self-defence. Just place yourself in the position of the Japanese commander, who, with a force of less than 3,000 at his disposal, had to protect the lives and property of hundreds of thousand of peaceful citizens and the portion of the International Settlement that had been trusted to his care against the thirty thousand of the 19th, Route Army and a couple of thousand of

its partizan troops, or mufti-soldiers—another strange existence peculiar to China. Would you, then, leave your serviceable airplanes, idle and let your men slaughtered and the citizens suffer from the ravaging and destrutive fire of the enemy? From the military point of view, therefore, the bombing in Chapei was a grim necessity of self-defence.

Say not that some men and some property did suffer from this mode of attack. We do regret these resultant accident, but it was at a time of life or death for us. Particular incident such as this in the midst of the confusion and excitement should not be taken as the standard of the Japanese Navy's discipline nor as the token of our intention in the present Shanghai affair.

In order to avoid causing unnecessary damages to the lives and property of non-combatant citizens by bombing, the Japanese air squadron was of course ordered to carry out, as far as the exigency of battle would permit, such precautionary measures as shown under:

- (1) to make reconnaissance flights before carrying out bombing,
- (2) to drop bombs from a height as low as safety of the airplane permits,
- (3) to select as target enemy's massed bodies, armoured

trains or positions as the case may be.

In carrying out the (2) precaution, our airplanes were sometimes hit by the bullets fired by the Chinese, and in an extreme case the bombing machine was slightly damaged by a fragment of its own bomb.

VII

Faithlessness of the 19th Route Army as illustrated by their repeated breach of truce.

Conscious as we had been of the kind of enemy we were up against, yet their conduct was quite a surprise to us. So extraordinary is their want of faith that no sailors or soldiers of any civilized state would fain call them their comrades. To be more concrete we will cite some examples of their faithlessness:

- (1) The first truce was to take effect at eight o'clock on the night of January 29th. This had been proposed by the Chinese through the British and American Consul-Generals and we accepted it. We observed it with absolute sincerity despite some serious disadvantages, while on the Chinese side, not only their partizan troops had started, on the very evening, to

attack our bluejackets and peaceful Japanese nationals, but the Army itself began to bombard and shoot us with the dawn of the second day. This is a fact that all Shanghai know and these Consul-Generals, through whose good offices the truce had been signed, were the eyewitnesses of all the proceedings.

- (2) On the 31st of January, the Commanders of the Japanese and the Chinese forces, the Consul-Generals of America, Great Britain and Japan, and the Mayor of Shanghai met in conference to discuss the desirability of the establishment of a neutral area in Chapei by the withdrawal of the contending forces from the scene of mutual contact. They had drafted a plan but failed to secure the concurrence of the Japanese commander. At last the conferees asked the Japanese side to refer the plan to the Tokyo government and ask for instructions. They then proposed that both side should cease hostilities at once pending the settlement of the above-mentioned question. This was unanimously agreed to.

The Chinese again shamelessly broke their faith and not only did they commence to bombard our positions on the very night but they also concentrated

more forces and strengthened their defenses.

- (3) On February 12 a short truce from 8 a. m. to 12 noon, was agreed to through the medium of the British Consul General to enable the peaceful residents, who still remained in the region between the opposing lines in Chapei to evacuate.

The 19th Route Army, as was to be expected from their former conduct, did not observe their promise even for such a short time, and soon began to bombard our positions quite heedless of the rescue workers. Needless to say, they again utilized this lull to increase their defensive works. The rescue workers actually witnessed these faithless proceedings on the part of the Chinese.

Such repeated breach or to be more exact, non-observance from the very start, of the sacred faith of truce on the Chinese side served to strengthen the resolution of Rear-Admiral Shiozawa, Commander of the Japanese forces in Shanghai, to do his utmost in clearing Shanghai and its neighbourhood of such an outrageous army.

VIII

The volunteer guard organized by Japanese residents was disbanded on January 30th.

In view of the lawless condition of the evening of January 28th in the Chapei district and especially in the neighbourhood of North Szechun Road, caused by the desertion of all the Chinese police and the armed police, and aggravated to the extreme by the attack of the 19th Route Army and the clandestine activity of the partizan troops in the district, no blame can be placed on the Japanese residents on the spot who have organized themselves into a volunteer guard and assumed on themselves the duty of guarding their residential quarters, it was nothing but an act of self-defence.

But, as there occurred several incidents, regrettable indeed but unavoidable in such excited moments, between the Japanese and foreigners, Commander of the Japanese Squadron disbanded them the following day, and prohibited the Japanese nationals to take any similar steps. Since January 30th no complaints have been raised in this connection.

IX

**The Chinese Army had deliberately prepared
their offensive.**

That the 19th Route Army had deliberately prepared their offensive is plain from the following facts :

- (a) On January 23, the 78th Division which had been stationed around Shanghai was reinforced by a brigade (about 5000),
- (b) On the same day, martial law was proclaimed in Woosung, Lunghua and other important places.
- (c) About January 25, they accumulated rolls of barbed wire, piles and sand bags.
- (d) General Tsai had been boastfully declaring to challenge the Japanese. forces to action.

Moreover, the fact that on the evening of January 28 three hundred Chinese policemen in the region of Jukong Road, and the two thousand armed policemen in the vicinity of North Szechun Road in Chapei deserted their quarters may be taken to strengthen the circumstances herein discussed.

X

The attack that the Japanese forces are utilizing a portion of the International Settlement as the base of operations is unreasonable.

Japanese Forces are defending the portion of the International Settlement in accordance with the prearranged plan of combined defence. They are carrying on their warlike activities within the International Settlement. That is quite natural and the attacks launched upon them as utilizing a portion of the said Settlement as base of operations are, therefore, wholly unreasonable. Please look at the fact squarely. We were confided with the protection of a certain region of the International Settlement with the lives and property of the residents within by decision of Municipal Council and Consular Corps.

Since more than a week before the Japanese forces took up the present position, the 19th Route Army had been concentrating forces and constructing defensive works surrounding the quarter within which most of the Japanese in Shanghai resided. Naturally that portion of the Settlement was, by common agreement allotted to Japanese garrison. Seeing the

lives and properties to be protected and seeing at the same time the aggressive force from which they must be protected, what can the Japanese forces do otherwise than what they are actually doing: fighting on the spot? They are fighting within the International Settlement only in carrying out faithfully their duty.

When an anti-British disturbance broke out in Shanghai in 1927, Great Britain sent there 16,000 troops. And where did they land? In the International Settlement. Supposing they were attacked by the Chinese Army, would they have withdrawn to their transports without attempting any counterattack? If the answer were in the affirmative, may we just question the Government's object in view to have sent out such a large mass of troops there?

So our returning fire from our defence line was justifiable and was a matter of inevitability, but when we were obliged to do so we paid greatest care not to let our shells fall in the International Settlement, and the same precaution has often stopped our firing simply because the enemy was in the direction of the International Settlement. And is it not the shells of the Chinese that fall so abundantly in the said Settlement?

Artillery duel would not occur as long as the Chinese

Army refrains from making attacks which might alarm the peaceful inhabitants of the International Settlement or its vicinity.

We hear say that in England our bombing in Chapei is being condemned as an unlawful attack on an unfortified city, but this censure is totally unfounded and arises from misunderstanding and want of recognition. The fighting in Shanghai, in its nature, is a street warfare which is being forced upon us by the Chinese army, who make the Chinese quarters in Chapei their base of operations. To compare our bombing against this aggressive Chinese Army with the air raids to London during the Great War is entirely erroneous. We are fully justified in counter-attacking this enemy for the purpose of driving them out of the portion of the city which they make their own base.

As for the criticism that our attack would endanger the lives of the innocent inhabitants in the district you may rest assured because they mostly evacuated this district soon after the commencement of the outrageous offensive action of the 19th Route Army.

XI

Chinese reports are either false or exaggerated.

Those who have spent some time in China would realize how the Chinese delight themselves in exaggeration. Their "three thousand yards of grey hair" is only "the silverly stretch of a waterfall a couple of hundred yards high". And a host of several hundred would invariably be "reported as one million strong". With them exaggeration is no sin because it is in their nature even when they are still in their mothers' wombs, yet in these days of delicate international relation, we cannot simply laugh away their folly as an innocent indulgence, because it invariably mislead the public and causes mischief. A Chinese is a man of propagandas and counter-propagandas from head to foot, and so is his government.

In our present case, almost all the Chinese reports may safely be said to be false or exaggerated. It is true that they have the strong merit of a report—celerity, but this high advantage would not make up the lack of other more important merit—reliability. The disorganized Chinese government would send out a false telegram to the world with absolute innocence, because they do not scruple with its misleading influences on

the minds of the public, as far as they are able to gain some advantage from it,—short-lived as it necessarily be, and often it does turn to be their own trap.

And thus it is not seldom that a report is issued by the government many hours before the occurrence of the actual incident.

Those who are acquainted with these circumstances would waste no time in contradicting the false reports emanating from the Chinese, but as their falsehood and exaggeration is so extraordinary that the European and American nations who live so far away from the present scene of strife would easily be deceived by such reports. We will cite some examples :

- (1) We often hear from an intellectual Chinese gentleman say thus: "As the papers represent this matter in this way, the truth must be in the opposite way."

This is a strong proof how the Chinese vernacular papers are not trusted by intellectual Chinese. But the lamentable fact is that the intellectual Chinese occupy only a very small portion of the populace, and the majority are easily made victim by the propagandas of their papers.

- (2) Once it was reported falsely that the Japanese forces had outrageously and recklessly murdered innocent

Chinese mostly Cantonese. Alas we Japanese are not fit to commit such murderous acts.

- (3) Ever since the outbreak of the Shanghai incident the Chinese papers have untiringly reported Chinese great victories and Japanese crashing defeat. Thus on one occasion they reported:

"The Chinese Army have won every battle since the commencement of the present operations. They have sunk several Japanese warships and destroyers, and the Japanese airplanes are being shot down every day, several planes on an average. The casualty of the Japanese has already reached a total of ten thousand odd." This is not a war report but a fiction of the good old times, and no sane people would believe it.

- (4) Once a Chinese paper reported that Rear-Admiral Shiozawa had committed "harakiri" lamenting the failure of his warlike operations. Upon this the foreign pressmen in Shanghai rushed to his flagship in order to express their condolence, but the after-piece of this comedy that was enacted on the quarterdeck was the "exchange of forced smile between the Admiral and his Visitors".

(5) On the night of February 16, Shanghai telegrams to Canton city read:

"that' the Japanese forces retired to the British Concession in disorder, and 7000 of them have been disarmed by the British Army."

"that there will be no more fighting in Shanghai because the British, the American and the French are employing their military forces to hold the activity of the Japanese. in check"

"that the operations of the Japanese have utterly failed and General Uyeda himself is among the captured."

Those wild reports soon set the whole Canton astir. members of the Canton Government, of its various organs and of various organizations, ran about the streets in motor-cars in their frantic transport, shouting, waving handkerchiefs and letting off fireworks, The men in the streets were not idle to respond with cheers as the processions of such motor-cars passed by. Thus for several hours, whole Canton was in the realm of fine dreams; the streets resounded with the explosion of an enormous quantity of fireworks: the sky over the city was ablaze with the reflection of the fireworks on the ground, and the traffic was under no control. The city was thus without proper order and as it was feared

that some mischief might occur under such circumstances, the police authorities thought it high time that they tried to cool the heated heads of the wild citizens by posting up at the branch offices an improvised telegram to the effect that the Chinese Army were still engaged in a hard fight with the Japanese. This witty step taken by the Police Bureau took the desired effect, and the citizens were brought back to their normal conditions. It was learned afterwards that the fireworks consumed on this single night, cost them two hundred thousand Yuan, and even the Chinese citizens were struck dumb when they knew that telegrams of the overwhelming victory of the Chinese had been only the device of a Chinese news agency which had been in league with some fireworks merchants

Above are only a few instances of the falsehood and exaggeration of Chinese reports. The reason why we have lavishly spared so many lines for this item is that we entertain a gravest fear that the League of Nations and the European and American peoples who are not quite prepared to face with such notorious falsehood and exaggeration of the Chinese, born propagandists, are in great danger of misjudging the situation in China by trusting such dishonest misleading informations issuing from the Chinese side. We request the

public to study the Chinese and know that no correct and fair judgment can be reached at by placing China and Japan on the same level of moral principles and civilization.

XII

The Chinese Army actually employed the dum dum bullets against the International Law.

We are really ashamed to mention this, but nevertheless we have to undertake it as we think it to be a very important matter to be borne in mind by those who are in a position to give judgment to the proceedings in Shanghai. It constitutes a key to the correct estimation of the moral standard of the Chinese, as a member of the community of Nations of the world. It is the unlawful use of the horrible dum dum bullets. As early as January 29, that is, the second day of the warlike operations in Shanghai, we had a case of wound strongly suspicious of having been caused by a dum dum bullet. But as there is no such element in our national character as to bring any matter to the public notice without undisputable proofs, we only waited for the appearance of such actual proofs. However, when we found more than two thousand dum dums from amongst the prize captured during

our joint general attack by Army and Navy on the 19th Route Army, we were obliged to become convinced that the Chinese did dare to commit this awfull illegal act before the eyes of the world. Now we know for certain that the eleven "suspected" cases of dumdums that have already been treated at the Saseho Naval Hospital are genuine.

This breach on the Chinese side, of the law of warfare between civilized nations is really awful and we do feel more pity for them than triumph for ourselves. But the shamelessness of the Chinese is such that they did give rise to the following episodes, an astounding example of their counter-propaganda:

(1) One day in the early stage of the Shanghai incident, the headquarters of the 19th Route Army demanded the attendance of the foreign press to inspect an alleged victim of a Japanese dumdummy bullet. They exhibited some dumdums alleging them to have been discovered from the Japanese side, and the bullet wound on the body of a Chinese soldier.

(2) The second episode is too famous to be dealt with at length. On February 19, Mr. Yen Kuching, the Chinese representative at the League of Nations, alleged at a public session of the League Council that the Japanese forces had fired dumdummy bullets

against the Chinese soldiers. Our representative Ambassador Sato did indeed very well when he calmly demanded Mr. Yen to show the proof before he made such a serious allegation in public.

- (3) The Chinese Red Cross, possibly moved by the propagandistic report of vernacular papers, asked the Japanese Red Cross to make inquiries as to the reliability of a report that the Japanese had employed dummdums in Shanghai.

Are not these episodes the strongest warning to the public who are not quite acquainted with the customs and practices of the Chinese, not to be too hasty in judging any incident in which the Japanese and the Chinese are involved?

XIII

**The Japanese actions in Shanghai are
thoroughly fair and just.**

You can place the fullest confidence upon what the Japanese government professes or undertakes. Our position in the present affair of Shanghai has been made clear in the statements of our government which said:

“that Japan entertains no territorial ambitions whatever,

nor any desire of gaining monopolistic interests in China. What she is doing in Shanghai is strictly within the bounds of self-defence, and the necessity for carrying out her duty to protect the lives and property of her own nationals and to defend the portion of the Internatoinal Settlement that has been placed under her protection."

We firmly believe that our actions have never gone beyond such limits and that we are paying utmost care to respect foreign interests. If any one judges our actions otherwise, let us advise him to take the coloured glasses off his eyes. Yet we cannot help entertaining a gravest misgiving as to the light in which the League of Nations and the Powers prefer to view our position and intention. Some extremists go so far as to denounce Japan as the destroyer of the universal peace. We rather pity such men who lack the power to control their own feelings by calm thinking, than be angry with such an unfair accusation against a state whose ideals are the supreme reign of justice and righteousness and the maintenance of world's peace by establishing clear understanding and friendly relationship between nations.

If you stare at the truth, you would readily understand that it is not the Japanese but the Chinese who deserve

such an accusation.

When we review the proceedings of the affairs in Shanghai the actions of our forces are absolutely fair and just and there are nothing which we rather hope to be screened from the world.

Ever since we have accepted the challenge of the 19th Route Army our attitude has been that of purely defensive nature, which however, should not be taken to mean that we have not offered any resistance or that we have not returned fire, but to mean that we have always been on the defensive in spirit and in desire. Unluckily, our defensive attitude have given the savage 19th Route Army the false impression that we lacked the power and spirit to enforce our will and made them multiply their offensive actions both in their warlike operations and propaganda, thereby breventing the early conclusion of the present affair which is the sincere concern of all the civilized world.

XIV

Attack on Woosung forts was a measure of self-defence and a necessity for the protection of the International waterways.

In this theatre it was again the Chinese that commenced the offensive; it is a fact beyond dispute and is clear as the broad daylight. At 11-25 o'clock in the morning of February 3, several Japanese destroyers were passing down stream under the Chinese fort at Woosung, with the sad mission of carrying back to Japan the dead bodies of some officers and men who had sacrificed themselves for their Emperor and Country, when the Woosung fort turned its massive guns on them and began to send forth its deadly missiles in quick succession. Not only the fort itself opened fire but also the Chinese troops in the trenches under the fort attacked our destroyers with their machine gun and rifles. This was utterly unexpected. Although our destroyers were in no mood of engaging in such a sanguinary business, there was only one thing for them to do under the circumstances, that was, to defend themselves and to protect the honour of the national ensign. They instantly turned round and were soon returning most accurate fire to the aggressive fort which had fired in

all thirty shells before it was silenced.

Firmly as we were convinced that we were fighting, not against China or the Chinese forces at large, but only against the opposing force in our front that constituted the direct menace to the International Settlement, we did not think, until then, of reducing this very important fort, situated as it is to command the international waterways. But this unprovoked attack was too much for the officers and men of our destroyers who always prided themselves in the untarnished honour of their national ensign, and the commander of the flotilla thought it necessary to give a severe lesson to the Chinese fort so that in future it may not vaingloriously and unlawfully attack the shipping, at random, irrespective of nationality.

This inaugurated the regular attack on the Chinese forts in the region of Woosung. The aim of this movement on the part of the Japanese is, not merely to capture the Chinese forts, but to safeguard the entrance of a most important passage leading to the international City of Shanghai, and further to add another security for the maintenance of our forces in Shanghai by removing an obstacle which flanks our communications with home.

It is hardly necessary to add that even in this enter-

prise of ours to chastise these outrageous forts, garrisoned by such ignorant and uncivilized soldiers as can hardly be expected to be able to distinguish the flags of shipping, we employed, as usual, the utmost care not to injure the innocent populace unnecessarily. Indeed in the case when the Naval Landing Party had to assist the landing, on the beach under the Chinese forts, of our Army, Rear-Admiral T. Uyematsu, commander of the Japanese Landing Party, even amidst the hurry-skurry of the occasion, showed so much sympathy towards the helpless Chinese women and children who were evacuating the threatened area, by ordering his men to assist them to safety through the muddy roads.

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Conclusion

In this hastily prepared small pamphlet we have not been able to exhaust the items which we wish to present to the notice of the world; above mentioned are only the most eminent items. We hope and trust, however, that these selected few will serve to enlighten the vision of the-public and to bring back your recognition of Sino-Japanese position in Shanghai on the right path.

We are not waging war of invasion at Shanghai. What we are seeking there is not military glory, territorial aggrandizement or monopolistic rights and interests; what concerns us are the strict and full respect of our treaty rights and national interests as well as the peace and welfare of our people living in China. For this end the existence of a peaceful and friendly relationship between us and our Chinese friends is one primary requisite, and the correct recognition and the unbiased cooperation of all the powers interested in China is the other. We fully understand that war can only embitter the national and international feelings, and what we want is just to remove the menace, the Nineteenth Route Army, which is lying in the way of friendship between us two peoples.

As the summary of what we have mentioned and by way of conclusion, we cordially invite the public to take note of the following points:

- (1) We are not fighting with China in Shanghai, but with the unruly 19th Route Army.
- (2) It is not we but the Chinese Army that commenced the attack.
- (3) What we are doing in and around Shanghai is the inevitable means of protecting the lives and property of our nationals in Shanghai.

- (4) We are carrying out at the same time the duty of protecting the portion of the International Settlement in Shanghai in accordance with the plan of combined defence as agreed to between the Powers concerned.
- (5) We, therefore, do not deserve the accusation that we have abused the trust of the Powers by making a portion of the International Settlement our base of operations, or by landing our forces in said settlement.
- (6) Japan entertains no territorial ambitions nor the wish to monopolize any commercial or political privileges.
- (7) China cannot properly be regarded as an "organized" state.
- (8) The traditional grand principle of Chinese diplomacy is "to control a foreign power by means of another", and so an untimely or improper interference of other Powers, especially when it is one-sided, will only encourage the Chinese and unduly prolong the settlement of the affair.
- (9) The Nineteenth Route Army cannot be treated as an army of a state, because it is nothing but a private instrument of a couple of Cantonese warlords who are plotting against the Central Government. Nor is it to be treated according to the rules and customs of the

armed forces of civilized nations.

(10) Promises, even when they are in a written form, of the Chinese cannot be trusted. For every promise we must have a safeguard.

(11) The Chinese is a born propagandist and he does not consider it a sin to deceive the world by issuing false or exaggerated reports.

(THE END)